

## **APPENDIX B: DECLARATION OF PROFESSOR ROBERT POLLIN**



**Before the  
FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION  
Washington, D.C. 20554**

In the Matter of:	:	
	:	
	:	
Implementation of Pay Telephone	:	CC Docket 96-128
Reclassification and Compensation	:	
Provisions of the	:	
Telecommunications Act of 1996	:	
	:	
Petitioners' Alternative Rulemaking	:	
Proposal	:	
	:	

**DECLARATION OF ROBERT POLLIN, Ph.D.**

Dr. Robert Pollin declares that the following is true under the penalty of perjury:

**I. QUALIFICATIONS**

1. My name is Dr. Robert Pollin and I am a professor of economics at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, where I have taught since 1998. My main areas of research are financial macroeconomics and political economy.
2. I graduated from the New School for Social Research with a Ph.D. in economics in 1982.
3. I then taught economics at the University of California at Riverside from 1982 through 1998, when I came to the University of Massachusetts.
4. At the University of Massachusetts, I am founding co-director of the Political Economy Research Institute (PERI). PERI promotes policy-relevant research in

the areas of macroeconomics, labor economics, development, and, more broadly, the analysis of globalization.

5. I am the author of several books, including *A Measure of Fairness: The Economics of Living Wages and Minimum Wages in the United States* (forthcoming 2007 with Mark Brenner, Jeannette Wicks-Lim, and Stephanie Luce), *An Employment-Targeted Economic Program for South Africa* (2007 with Gerald Epstein, James Heintz and Leonce Ndikumana) *Contours of Descent: U.S. Economic Fractures and the Landscape of the Global Austerity* (2003) and *The Living Wage: Building a Fair Economy* (1998 with Stephanie Luce). I also edited *Human Development in the Era of Globalization* (2006 with James Boyce, Stephen Cullenberg, and Prasanta Pattanaik), *Globalization and Progressive Economic Policy* (1998 co-edited with Dean Baker and Gerald Epstein), *The Macroeconomics of Saving, Finance and Investment* (1997), *New Perspectives in Monetary Macroeconomics: Explorations in the Tradition of Hyman Minsky* (1994 co-edited with Gary Dymksi), and *Transforming the U.S. Financial System: Equity and Efficiency for the 21st Century* (2003 co-edited with Gary Dymksi and Gerald Epstein).

6. I have served as a consultant to many governmental entities, including the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress (1987-89), the United Nations Development Program in South Africa and Kenya (2003 – 2007), Bolivia (1990), and as a member of the U.S. Government's Capital Formation Subcouncil of the Competitiveness Policy Council (1992-93).

7. A copy of my curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit A.

## II. PURPOSE OF TESTIMONY

8. I submit this testimony in support of the comments submitted to the Federal Communications Commission by the members of the Ad Hoc Coalition for the Right to Communicate.

### **III. AMOUNT MEMBERS OF THE COALITION WILL SAVE AS A RESULT OF THE PROPOSED RATE CAP**

9. It is my understanding that the Alternative Rulemaking Proposal currently before the Commission suggests a cap on collect call rates from prisons of \$0.25 per minute with no additional per call fee. Attorneys for the Ad Hoc Coalition tell me that fees can be as high as \$0.85 per minute, with a \$3.95 per call fee. Given these rates, and assuming one one-hour phone call per week, the recipient of prisoner phone calls would see phone call costs fall by about \$160 each month. This cost savings is calculated by adding together per-minute savings of \$0.60 ( $\$0.85 - \$0.25$ ) and per-call savings of \$3.95 that the proposal would provide and by assuming four 60-minute phone calls per month ( $\$0.60 \times 4 \times 60 + (\$3.95 \times 4) = \$159.80$ ). Below I will evaluate specifically the impact of the cost *savings* that would result from what is being proposed.

### **IV. THE IMPACT OF \$160 IN SAVINGS ON THE FAMILY OF A TYPICAL PRISONER**

10. The need to spend about \$220 on phone calls each month ( $(\$0.85 \times 4 \times 60) + (\$3.95 \times 4) = \$219.80$ ) imposes a severe financial burden on the average family with a member who is in prison. As I describe in more detail below, it may well cause such families to face difficulties in purchasing basic necessities, including food and shelter in order to pay for the phone calls.

#### The Financial Situation of the Family of the Typical Prisoner

11. The average prisoner comes from a low-income household.

12. As of 1997, the typical state prisoner had earned a monthly income prior to incarceration of less than \$1,000/month in 1997 dollars, which is equivalent to about \$1,265/month in 2006 dollars. *See* Caroline Wolf Harlow, *Education and Correctional Populations*, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (Jan. 2003), p. 10, table 14, available at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/pub/pdf/ecp.pdf>.

13. As of 1997, the typical state prisoner had lived in a household of at least three persons before incarceration. *See* Caroline Wolf Harlow, *Education and Correctional Populations*, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (Jan. 2003), p. 10, table 14, available at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/pub/pdf/ecp.pdf>.

14. In many households, only two of those members are potential wage earners, because as of 1999, the typical prisoner in a state or federal prison had at least one child under the age of 18. Nearly half had at least one child under the age of 14. *See* Christopher J. Mumola, *Incarcerated Parents and Their Children*, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (Aug. 2000), available at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/pub/ascii/iptc.txt>.

15. If each of the wage earners brings in \$1,265/month, this would produce a household income of roughly \$2,500/month or \$30,000 per year. This is equivalent to less than 200% of the official Federal Poverty Threshold of \$16,227 for a family of three. *See* U.S. Census, *Poverty Thresholds 2006*, available at <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/threshld/thresh06.html>.

16. The Federal Poverty Threshold is widely recognized by poverty researchers as being inadequate. *See* *Measuring Poverty: A New Approach* (Constance F. Citro & Robert T. Michael, eds.) 1995.

17. However, even based on the federal poverty threshold, the family of the typical prison inmate is best described as low-income.

18. A respected recent study found that families with incomes under 200% of the Federal Poverty Level experienced economic hardships. Heather Boushey, Chauna Brocht, Bethney Gundersen, and Jared Bernstein, Economic Policy Institute, *Hardships in America: The Real Story of Working Families* (2001).

19. In particular, 29% experienced critical hardships, including not having enough food to eat or missing meals, not receiving necessary medical care, being evicted, utilities disconnected, or doubling up with friends or family. *Id.*

20. 74% experienced serious hardships, including not being able to buy the kinds of food preferred or worried about having enough food, having emergency room as main source of care or no health insurance coverage, being unable to make housing or utility payments or having telephone disconnected, or having inadequate childcare. *Id.*

21. This estimate of \$2,500/month is also more than \$600/month below the national average of the Economic Policy Institute's basic budget income threshold of \$3,167 monthly in 2006 dollars (calculated for a family of three with one child under age 12, and by averaging across Metropolitan Statistical Areas and rural areas within each state and then averaging across states, adjusting for state population). See Economic Policy Institute, Basic Family Budget Calculator (Sep. 2005), available at [http://www.epi.org/content.cfm/datazone\\_fambud\\_budget](http://www.epi.org/content.cfm/datazone_fambud_budget).

22. The basic family budget threshold is described by the Economic Policy Institute as "the income required for a safe and decent though basic standard of living."

*Id.* A family whose income is more than \$600/month below the Economic Policy Institute's basic budget income threshold experiences serious economic hardship.

23. These economic hardships are likely to be exacerbated by the incarceration, and consequent loss of earning power, of one of the wage earners in the family.

The Impact of a Phone Bill Reduction of \$160/month on the Average Family of a Prisoner

24. Since the average family of a prisoner has a difficult time paying for food, medical care, shelter, or other necessities even before the incarceration of one of its wage earners, the need to pay \$160 each month for collect calls from prison (the current cost of phone calls in excess of the proposed cap) further reduces their ability to pay for such essential items.

25. One way to evaluate the impact of the potential impact of having to pay an additional \$160 monthly is to compare it to the various components of the basic family budget for a family of three (national average). In column 2 the following table, I present the monthly cost of each budget item, based on the Economic Policy Institute Basic Family Budget Calculator. *See* Economic Policy Institute, Basic Family Budget Calculator (Sep. 2005), available at [http://www.epi.org/content.cfm/datazone\\_fambud\\_budget](http://www.epi.org/content.cfm/datazone_fambud_budget). In column 3, I show the potential cost saving relative to each budget item.



**Costs Savings Relative to Monthly Basic Budget for Family of 3**

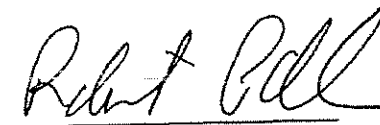
Budget item	Monthly Cost (2006\$)	\$160 as % of Monthly Cost
Housing	\$744	21%
Food	\$478	33%
Childcare	\$552	29%
Transportation	\$388	41%
Healthcare	\$373	43%
Other Necessities (includes the cost of clothing, personal care expenses, household supplies, reading materials, school supplies, and other miscellaneous items)	\$330	48%
Taxes	\$302	53%
Total	\$3,167	5%

26. As shown in column two of the table, \$160 per month represents almost one-fifth of monthly housing costs, roughly one-third of monthly food expenses, over one-quarter of childcare expenses, and over two-fifths of each of the remaining budget items: transportation, healthcare, other necessities and taxes. Clearly, \$160 per month represents a significant share of necessary household expenses for low-income households.

27. In sum, the \$160 expense for calls that the average family with a member in prison would have to cover without the rate caps in order to place four one-hour calls per month would in all likelihood cause substantial economic hardship for the family.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Date: 4/30/2007

  
Robert Pollin



## **EXHIBIT A**



April 2007

**Robert N. Pollin -- Curriculum Vitae**

Date of birth: September 29, 1950

Home address: 1290 South East Street, Amherst, MA 01002 (413) 549-8796

University Address: Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Amherst, MA 01002  
Office phone: (413) 577-0819  
Office fax: (413) 545-2921  
E-Mail Address: Pollin@econs.umass.edu

Education:

B.A., 1972 (History), University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin  
M.A., 1979 (Economics), New School for Social Research, New York, NY  
Ph.D., 1982 (Economics), New School for Social Research

Employment:

1973-75: Cultural Writer and Book Reviewer, Washington Star Newspaper, Washington, D.C.  
1975-80: Economic Researcher and Writer, Tanzer Economic Associates, New York, NY  
1982-88: Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, University of California, Riverside  
1988-94: Associate Professor, Department of Economics, University of California, Riverside  
1994-98: Professor, Department of Economics, University of California, Riverside  
1998-: Professor of Economics and Co-Director, Political Economy Research Institute, University of Massachusetts-Amherst.

Other Economics Department Activities:

1987-92: Director of Departmental Exchange Program with Metropolitan University-Azcapotzalco, Mexico City  
1989-94: Graduate Advisor

Other Professional Activities:

1985-93: National Steering Committee, Union for Radical Political Economics  
1986-present: Editorial Associate, Dollars and Sense magazine  
1987-89: Consultant, Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress  
1990: Consultant to United Nations Development Program, Project on Bolivia  
1992: Economic Spokesperson, Presidential Campaign of Gov. Jerry Brown

- 1992-93: Member of Capital Formation Subcouncil of Competitiveness Policy Council, U.S. government
- 1992-present: Editorial Advisory Board, International Review of Applied Economics
- 1993: External Consultant, Graduate Program in Political Economy, Department of Economics, American University
- 1993-present: Research Associate, Economic Policy Institute, Washington, D.C.
- 1997-99: Member of Review of Radical Political Economics editorial collective for special issues in honor of David M. Gordon.
- 1999-present: Advisory Board, Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy/Citizens for Tax Justice
- 1999-present: Board of Directors, Center for Economic and Policy Research
- 1999: Reviewer of Department of Community Studies, University of California, Santa Cruz.
- 2000: Consultant to Santa Monica, California City Council on Living Wage proposal.
- 2003: Consultant to "Now with Bill Moyers," Public Broadcasting System special "A Question of Fairness," on Inequality in the United States.
- 2003 - present: Consultant to United Nations Development Program, "Employment-Targeted Macroeconomic Policies for South Africa, Ghana and Kenya."
- 2004: Consultant to City of Santa Fe, New Mexico, on Living Wage law and legal challenge to law.
- 2006 - present: "Economic Prospects" Columnist for New Labor Forum

#### Honors and Awards

Honors Recipient, University of Wisconsin (1972); Honors Recipient for Doctoral Exams, New School for Social Research (1979); Distinguished Teaching Award, Humanities and Social Sciences (1982-83); Recipient, University of California Regents' Fellowship (1985-86); Distinguished Outreach Professor, University of Massachusetts-Amherst (2006)

#### **COURSES TAUGHT (University of California-Riverside and University of Massachusetts-Amherst)**

##### UNDERGRADUATE

Introduction to Economics (History of Thought and Economic Issues)  
Money, Credit and Banking  
Money, Credit and Economic Policy  
Introduction to Econometrics  
Applied Econometrics  
International Economics  
International Finance  
Intermediate Macroeconomics  
The Contemporary U.S. Economy

## **GRADUATE**

Macroeconomic Theory (mainstream and alternative perspectives)  
Money, Credit and the Macroeconomy  
Labor Markets, Distribution, and Macroeconomic Activity  
Applied Econometrics

21 Completed Doctoral Dissertations Supervised  
Doctoral Committee Member on 13 Completed Dissertations

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **A. BOOKS**

1. The Living Wage: Building A Fair Economy, (with Stephanie Luce), The New Press, 1998; paperback edition, 2000.
2. Contours of Descent: U.S. Economic Fractures and the Landscape of Global Austerity, Verso 2003; paperback edition with new Afterward, 2005.
3. An Employment-Targeted Economic Program for South Africa (with Gerald Epstein, James Heintz, and Leonce Ndikumana), 2006, United Nations Development Program and Edward Elgar.

### **FORTHCOMING**

A Measure of Fairness: The Economics of Living Wages and Minimum Wages in the United States (with Mark Brenner, Stephanie Luce, and Jeannette Wicks-Lim) forthcoming 2007 with Cornell University Press.

### **IN PROGRESS**

The Question of Sweatshops: Globalization and the Struggle for Decent Work (with James Heintz), The New Press.

An Employment-Targeted Economic Program for Kenya (with Mwangi Githinji and James Heintz), United Nations Development Program.

### **B. EDITED BOOKS**

1. Transforming the U.S. Financial System: Equity and Efficiency for the 21st Century (with G. Dymski and G. Epstein), Under sponsorship of the Economic Policy Institute, Washington, D.C., M.E. Sharpe Publisher, 1993.
2. New Perspectives in Monetary Macroeconomics: Explorations in the Tradition of Hyman Minsky (with G. Dymski), University of Michigan Press, 1994.
3. The Macroeconomics of Saving, Finance, and Investment, University of Michigan Press, 1997.

4. Globalization and Progressive Economic Policy, (with D. Baker and G. Epstein), Cambridge University Press, 1998.
5. Capitalism, Socialism, and Radical Political Economy: Essays in Honor of Howard J. Sherman, Edward Elgar Press, 2000.
6. Human Development in the Era of Globalization: Essays in Honor of Keith B. Griffin, (with J. Boyce, S. Cullenberg, and P. Pattanaik) Edward Elgar, 2006

### C. MONOGRAPHS

1. Deeper in Debt: The Changing Financial Conditions of U.S. Households, Economic Policy Institute, Washington, D.C., 1990, 78 pages.
2. Economic Analysis of Florida Minimum Wage Proposal, September 2004, (with Mark Brenner and Jeanette Wicks-Lim), Center for American Progress, 84 published monograph pages.
3. Decent Work in America: The State-by-State Work Environment Index, 2005 (with James Heintz and Jeannette Wicks-Lim) Political Economy Research Institute, 10 published monograph pages.
3. Economic Analysis of Arizona Minimum Wage Proposal, October 2006 (with Jeannette Wicks-Lim) Center for American Progress, 95 published monograph pages.

### D. SCHOLARLY ARTICLES

1. "Stability and Instability in the Debt-Income Relationship," American Economic Review, May, 1985, pp. 344-350
2. "Alternative Perspectives on the Rise of Corporate Debt Dependency: The U.S. Post-war Experience," Review of Radical Political Economics, Spring & Summer 1986, pp. 205-235.
3. "Corporate Interest Payments and the Falling Rate of Profit in the U. S. Postwar Economy," Economic Forum, Winter, 1986-87, pp. 129-145.
4. "The Growth of U. S. Household Debt: Demand-Side Influences," Journal of Macroeconomics, Spring 1988, pp. 231-248.
5. "Debt Crisis, Accumulation Crisis and Economic Restructuring in Latin America," (with D. Alarcon), International Review of Applied Economics, pp.127-154. Vol 2, No. 2, 1988.
6. "Two Theories of Money Supply Endogeneity: Some Empirical Evidence," Journal of Post-Keynesian Economics, Spring 1991, pp.336-396.
7. "Growing U.S. Budget Deficits and Declining Economic Performance: What is the Connection," Review of Radical Political Economics, Fall 1989, pp. 51-57.
8. "The Illusion of an Improved CPI," (with M. Stone and J. Hammaker) Challenge, January- February 1991, pp.53-57.



9. "Destabilizing Finance Worsened the Recession," Challenge, March-April 1992, pp. 17-24.
- 10). "Financial Structures and Egalitarian Economic Policy," New Left Review, 214, November/December 1995, 26-61.
- 10a). "Financial Structures and Egalitarian Economic Policy," International Papers in Political Economy December 1995, (somewhat shorter and more technical version of New Left Review article cited above).
11. "'Socialization of Investment' and 'Euthanasia of the Rentier': The Relevance of Keynesian Economic Policy Today," International Review of Applied Economics, January 1996.
12. "The Vietnam War and the Political Economy of Full Employment," (with Dean Baker and Elizabeth Zahrt), Challenge, May-June, 1996, pp. 35-45.
13. "Contemporary Economic Stagnation in World Historical Perspective," (review article of G. Arrighi, The Long Twentieth Century) New Left Review, September/October 1996, 109-118.
14. "The Relevance of Hyman Minsky," Challenge, March-April 1997, 75-94.
15. "Theory and Policy in Response to 'Leaden Age' Financial Instability: Comment on David Felix," Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, Winter 1997/98, 223-34.
16. "The 'Reserve Army of Unemployed' and the 'Natural Rate of Unemployment': Can Marx, Kalecki, Friedman, and Wall Street All Be Wrong?" Review of Radical Political Economics, Summer 1998, 1-13.
- 16a. . "The 'Reserve Army of Unemployed' and the 'Natural Rate of Unemployment': Can Marx, Kalecki, Friedman, and Wall Street All Be Wrong?" reprinted in R. Baiman, H. Boushey, and D. Saunders, Political Economy and Contemporary Capitalism, M.E. Sharpe, 2000, 95-103.
17. "Asset Exchanges, Financial Market Trading, and the M1 Income Velocity Puzzle," (with Marc Schaberg), Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, 135-62.
18. "Can U.S. Cities Afford Living Wage Programs? An Examination of Alternatives," (with Stephanie Luce), Review of Radical Political Economics, Winter 1999, 16-53.
19. "Robert Heilbroner: Worldly Philosopher," Challenge, May-June 1999, 34-52.
20. "Class Conflict and the 'Natural Rate of Unemployment,'" Challenge, November-December 1999, 103-111.
21. "Anatomy of Clintonomics," New Left Review, May-June 2000, 17-46.
- 21a. "Anatomy of Clintonomics," revised and somewhat more technical version in Philip Arestis and Malcolm Sawyer, eds., Economics of the Third Way, Edward Elgar, 2002.
22. "What is a Living Wage? Considerations from Santa Monica, California," Review of Radical Political Economics, Fall 2002, 267-73.

23. "Intended vs. Unintended Consequences: Evaluating the New Orleans Living Wage Proposal," (with Mark Brenner and Stephanie Luce) Journal of Economic Issues, December 2002, pp. 843 – 875.

24. "Evaluation of a Proposal to Reinstate the New York State Stock Transfer Tax," (with James Heintz, Challenge, July-August 2003, 71 – 105.

25. "Securities Transaction Taxes for U.S. Financial Markets," (with Dean Baker and Marc Schaberg), Eastern Economic Journal, Fall 2003, 527-59.

26. "Stock Market Liquidity and Economic Growth: A Critical Appraisal of the Levine/Zervos Model," (with Andong Zhu and Michael Ash), International Review of Applied Economics, 18:1, January 2004, 63 – 71.

26. "Global Apparel Production and Sweatshop Labor: Can Raising Retail Prices Finance Living Wages?" (with Justine Burns and James Heintz), Cambridge Journal of Economics, March 2004, 28:2, 153-71.

27. "Deepening Divides in the U.S. Economy, 2004: Jobless Recovery and the Return of Fiscal Deficits," New School Economic Review, Fall 2004.

28. "Evaluating Living Wage Laws in the U.S.: Good Intentions and Economic Reality in Conflict?" Economic Development Quarterly, 19:1, February 2005, pp. 3-24.

29. "Inflation and Economic Growth: A Cross-Country Nonlinear Analysis," (with Andong Zhu) Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, Summer 2006, pp. 593-614.

30. "Expanding Decent Employment in Kenya: The Role of Monetary Policy, Inflation Control and the Exchange Rate," (with James Heintz), International Poverty Centre of the United Nations Development Program, Country Study #6, <<http://www.undp-povertycentre.org/pub/IPCCountryStudy006.pdf>>, March 2007, 53 pages.

#### E. BOOK CHAPTERS

1. "Basic Mineral Economics," in Michael Tanzer, The Race for Resources (Monthly Review Press, 1980), pp. 41-55.

2. "Structural Change and Increasing Fragility in the U. S. Financial System," in Robert Cherry et. al., ed., The Imperiled Economy: Macroeconomic Perspectives From the Left, New York: Union for Radical Political Economics, 1987, pp.145-158.

3. "Debt Dependency Growth and Financial Innovation: Instability in the U.S. and Latin America," in Arthur MacEwan and William Tabb, eds., Instability and Change in the World Economy, 1989, New York: Monthly Review Press, pp.121-146.

4. "Hyman Minsky as Hedgehog: The Power of the Wall Street Paradigm," (with G. Dyrnski), in Steven Fazzari and Dimitri Papadimitriou, eds., Financial Conditions and Macroeconomic Performance: Essays in Honor of Hyman P. Minsky, 1992, M.E. Sharpe, pp. 27-62.

5. "Budget Deficits and the U.S. Economy: Considerations in an Heilbronerian Mode," in Ronald Blackwell, Jaspal Chatha, and Edward Nell, eds., Economics as Wordly Philosophy: Essays in Political and Historical Economics in Honor of Robert Heilbroner, New York: St. Martins Press, 1993, pp. 107-144.

6. "Introduction" (with G. Dymski and G. Epstein) in G. Dymski and G. Epstein, and R. Pollin eds., Transforming the U.S. Financial System: Equity and Efficiency for the 21st Century, M.E. Sharpe, pps. 3-20.
7. "Public Credit Allocation through the Federal Reserve: Why it's Necessary; How it Should Be Done," in R. Pollin, G. Dymski and G. Epstein, eds., Transforming the U.S. Financial System: Equity and Efficiency for the 21st Century, M.E. Sharpe Publishers, pp. 321-354.
8. "Introduction" (with G. Dymski) in Dymski and Pollin, eds., New Perspectives in Monetary Macroeconomics: Explorations in the Tradition of Hyman P. Minsky, University of Michigan Press, 1994, pp. 1-20.
9. "Savings, Finance, and Interest Rates: An Empirical Consideration of Some Basic Keynesian Propositions," (with C. Justice) in G. Dymski and R. Pollin, eds., New Perspectives in Monetary Macroeconomics: Explorations in the Tradition of Hyman P. Minsky, University of Michigan Press, 1994, pp. 279-311.
10. "The Costs and Benefits of Financial Instability: Big Government Capitalism and the Minsky Paradox," (with G. Dymski) in G. Dymski and R. Pollin, eds., New Perspectives in Monetary Macroeconomics: Explorations in the Tradition of Hyman P. Minsky, University of Michigan Press, 1994, pp. 369-402.
11. "Marxian and Post Keynesian Developments in the Sphere of Money, Credit and Finance: Building Alternative Perspectives in Monetary Macroeconomics," in Mark Glick ed., Competition, Technology, and Money: Classical and Post Keynesian Perspectives Edward Elgar Publisher, 1994, pp. 97-117.
12. "Saving and Finance: Real and Illusory Constraints on Full Employment Policy," in J. Michie and J. Grieve Smith, Restoring Full Employment: Rebuilding Industrial Capacity, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp. 254-88.
13. "Money Supply Endogeneity: What are the Questions and Why do they Matter?" in Edward Nell and Ghislain Deleplace, eds., Money in Motion: The Circulation and Post-Keynesian Approaches, London: Macmillan, 1996, 490-515.
14. "Robert Heilbroner," (with Jerry Evensky), in Warren J. Samuels, ed., American Economists of the Late Twentieth Century, Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar, 1996, 87-110.
15. "Expansionary Policy for Full Employment in the United States: Retrospective on the 1960s and Current Period Prospects," (with Elizabeth Zahrt) in Jonathan Michie and John Grieve Smith eds., Employment and Economic Performance: Jobs, Inflation and Growth, Oxford University Press, 1997, 36-75.
16. "Financial Intermediation and the Variability of the Saving Constraint," in R. Pollin, editor, The Macroeconomics of Saving, Finance, and Investment, U. of Michigan Press, 1997, 309-365.
17. "Introduction" to R. Pollin, editor, The Macroeconomics of Saving, Finance, and Investment, U. of Michigan Press, 1997, 1-33.
18. "Can Domestic Expansionary Policy Succeed in a Globally Integrated Environment? A Consideration of Alternatives," in Globalization and Progressive Economic Policy, with D. Baker and G. Epstein, Cambridge University Press, 1998, 433-60.
19. "Introduction" to Globalization and Progressive Economic Policy, with D. Baker and G. Epstein, Cambridge University Press, 1998, 1-34.

21. "Introduction," to Capitalism, Socialism, and Radical Political Economy: Essays in Honor of Howard J. Sherman, Edward Elgar Press, 2000, pp 1-4.
22. "Comment on Philip O'Hara and Thomas Weisskopf," in Capitalism, Socialism, and Radical Political Economy: Essays in Honor of Howard J. Sherman, Edward Elgar Press, 2000, pp. 48-51.
23. Entry on "Savings," in John King, ed., Elgar Companion to Post-Keynesian Economics, Edward Elgar, 2003, pp. 304-08.
24. Introduction to E.K. Hunt, Property and Prophets, M.E. Sharpe, 2003, pp. ix – x.
25. "Applying a Securities Transaction Tax to the US: Design Issues, Market Impact, Revenue Estimates," in James Weaver, Randall Dodd, and Jamie Baker, Debating the Tobin Tax: New Rules for Global Governance, Washington, DC: New Rules for Global Finance Coalition, 2003, pp. 119-134.
26. "Globalization and the Transition to Egalitarian Development," in J. Boyce, S. Cullenberg, P. Pattanaik, and R. Pollin, Egalitarian Development in the Era of Globalization: Essays in Honor of Keith B. Griffin, Edward Elgar, 2006, pp. 211-238.
27. "Introduction," to Egalitarian Development in the Era of Globalization: Essays in Honor of Keith B. Griffin (with J. Boyce, S. Cullenberg, and P. Pattanaik), 2006, pp. 1-14.
28. "Neoliberal Globalization and the Question of Sweatshop Labor in Developing Countries," in Judith Blau and Keri E. Iyall Smith eds., Public Sociologies Reader, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006, pp. 107-22.
29. "Informalization, Economic Growth and the Challenge of Creating Viable Labor Standards in Developing Countries," (with James Heintz), in Neema Kudva and Lourdes Beneria, Rethinking Informalization: Poverty, Precarious Jobs, and Social Protection, Cornell University Open Access Repository, 2006, pp. 44-66.

#### **F. SEMI-POPULAR ARTICLES**

1. "Multinational Mineral Industry in Crisis," Monthly Review, April, 1980; pp. 25-38.
2. "A Theory of Financial Instability," Monthly Review, December, 1983, pp. 44-51.
3. "Bretton Woods: The Rise and Fall of an International Monetary System," Dollars & Sense, December, 1984; pp. 16-18
- 3a. Reprinted in Economics Affairs Bureau, Real World Macro (Somerville, Massachusetts, 1990), pp. 78-81.
4. "The Hidden Debt Crisis: U.S. Households Borrow More to Make Ends Meet," Dollars and Sense, October, 1986, pp. 20-22.
- 4a. Reprinted in Economics Affairs Bureau, Real World Macro 1989, pp. 33-35.
5. "Latin American Debt: The Choices Ahead," (with E. Zepeda), Monthly Review, February, 1987, pp. 1-16.

- 5a. Reprinted in Kofi Buenor Hadjor, ed., Essays in Honor of Olaf Palme: New Perspectives in North-South Dialogue, London: Third World Press, 1988, pp. 102-114.
6. "Should Congress Control the Fed?", Economic Affairs Bureau, Real World Macro, pp. 36, 40 & 41.
7. "The Abyss of Third World Debt," Monthly Review, March 1989, pp.54-60; review article.
8. "Borrowing More, Buying Less: Household Debt Hits Record High," Dollars and Sense, May 1990, pp.9-11.
- 8a. Reprinted in Economics Affairs Bureau, Real World Macro, 1991 edition, pp.25-28.
9. "The Rise in Personal Debt: Why Does it Matter?", Forum for Applied Research and Public Policy, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 1992, pp. 48-52.
10. "Transforming the Fed: A Path to Financial Stability and Democratic Socialism," Dollars and Sense, November 1992, pp. 6-9.
11. "Is Big Government Really the Problem?" Dollars and Sense, March/April 1995, pp. 12-13, 40-42.
12. "The 'Natural Rate of Unemployment': Its All About Class Conflict," Dollars and Sense, September/October 1998, pp. 12-15.
13. "Time for a Living Wage," Challenge interview, September-October 2001.
14. "Working People under Neoliberal Globalization," Oikonomikos Tachidromos, October 30, 2001, pp. 68-71.
15. "Living Wages: Good Intentions in Economic Logic in Conflict?" The Economic Quarterly (of the Eitan Berglas School of Economics, Tel Aviv University), September 2002, pp. 488-504.
16. "Recession: Government Spending to the Rescue?" Dollars and Sense, November/December 2002, pp. 24 - 29.
17. "Robert Heilbroner: 1918-2005," Challenge, May-June, 2005, pp. 10-13.
18. "A Reply to 'Marxian Class Analysis and Economics,'" Dollars and Sense, September/October 2006, pp. 39-41.
19. "Global Outsourcing and the U.S. Working Class," New Labor Forum regular Economic Prospects column, Winter 2007, pp. 122-25.

#### G. POPULAR ARTICLES

1. "Hardheads and Bishops: How to Talk About Economic Strategy," (with A. Cockburn), The Nation, February 28, 1987, pp. 245-7.
2. "The Crash of 1987: Who's Been on a Binge?", Against the Current, May/June 1988, pp.40-41.
3. "The Keynes Mutiny," The Nation, September 25, 1989, pp.321-24.

4. "Capitalism and its Specters: The World, The Free Market and The Left," (with A. Cockburn), The Nation, February 25, 1991, pp.224-236.
  - 4a. Reprinted in Social Scientist, Delhi, India, July 1991, pp. 18-39.
  - 4b. Reprinted in Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Social Issues, Kurt Finsterbusch and George McKenna, eds., The Dishkin Publishing Group, Inc., 1992, pps. 268-276.
5. "Dismantling Defense: Use Conversion to Create Jobs," The Nation, July 12, 1993, pp. 66-68.
6. "Main Street vs. Wall Street: Taxing the Big Casino," (with Dean Baker and Marc Schaberg), The Nation, May 9, 1994, pp. 622-24.
7. "Economics with a Human Face," The Nation, September 30, 1996, pp. 21-23.
8. "Living Wage, Live Action," The Nation, November 23, 1998, pp. 15-20.
9. "Can New Orleans Afford to Pay Living Wages? Evaluating the Costs of the New Orleans Living Wage Proposal," (with Mark Brenner and Stephanie Luce) Blueprint for Social Justice, September 2001, 12 pages (full issue of publication).
10. "The Decline of the Dollar: Where is it Going?" Counterpunch, April 1-15, 2005, pp. 1, 5-6.
11. "The Man Who Explained Empire: Remembering Harry Magdoff," Counterpunch online, January 26, 2006.
12. "Reaganomics Revisited: Beyond the Glow of Nostalgia," Counterpunch online, February 22, 2006.

#### H. BOOK REVIEWS

1. Review of William Hixon, A Matter of Interest: Reexamining Money, Debt, and Real Economic Growth, for Monthly Review, October 1993.
2. Review of Bruce Roberts and Susan Feiner, eds., Radical Economics, for Journal of Economic Literature, December 1993, pp. 1967-68.
3. Review of David Coates, The Question of U.K. Decline, for International Review of Applied Economics, Volume 9, No. 2, 1995 pp. 216-220.
4. Review of Amitava K. Dutt and Kenneth P. Jameson, Crossing the Mainstream: Ethical and Methodological Issues in Economics for Journal of Economic Literature, September 2002, pp. 919-921.
5. Review of Joseph E. Stiglitz, The Roaring Nineties: A New History of the World's Most Prosperous Decade, Challenge, July-August 2004, pp. 113-123.

#### FORTHCOMING

1. Review of Heather Boushey, Chauna Brocht, Bethany Gunderson, and Jared Bernstein, Hardship in America for Eastern Economic Journal, 7 manuscript pages.

### III. SELECTED REPORTS

1. "Third World Oil Exploration Patterns in the Post Yom Kippur War Era," Tanzer Economic Associates, 1976.
2. "The Carter Energy Program and U.S. Energy Consumption Patterns," Tanzer Economic Associates, 1977.
3. "Alternative Techniques for Measuring Price Change: The Consumer Price Index versus the GDP Deflator," Tanzer Economic Associates, 1980.
4. "Employment Intensive Capital Formation in Bolivia," with K. Griffin, R. Thorp, and C. Geneletti. May 1990, 51 manuscript pages.
5. "Labour Power, Investment and Development: Proposals for A National Strategy to be Launched in Oruro and Potosi," with K. Griffin. August 1990, 14 manuscript pages.
6. "Financial Conditions and Macroeconomic Instability," Economic Policy Institute Briefing Paper (with Gary Dymski, Gerald Epstein, and James Galbraith), June 1992.
7. "Economic Analysis of The Los Angeles Living Wage Ordinance," Project Director and Principal Author (with other authors), October 1996, 150 manuscript pages.
8. "Economic Analysis of The New Orleans Minimum Wage Proposal," (with Stephanie Luce and Mark Brenner), July 1999, 155 pages.
9. "Economic Effects of Setting Living Wage Standards," (with David Moore), John Witte, ed., Report on Living Wage Symposium, Robert M. La Follette Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2000, 7 pages.
10. "Economic Analysis of Santa Monica Living Wage Proposal," Project Director and Principal Author (with other authors), August 2000, 370 pages.
11. "Supplemental Report for New Orleans Living Wage Ordinance," (with Mark Brenner), March 2002, 14 manuscript pages.
12. "Supplemental Report on Santa Monica Living Wage Ordinance," (with Mark Brenner), September 2002, 30 manuscript pages.
13. "Evaluation of Santa Fe, New Mexico Living Wage Ordinance," February 2003, 10 manuscript pages.
14. "Evaluation of Atlanta, GA Living Wage Ordinance," May 2003, 10 manuscript pages.
15. "Expert Report on Santa Fe, New Mexico Living Wage Ordinance," March 2004, 103 manuscript pages.

#### **IV. SELECTED OPINION PIECES**

1. "Why the Left Should Support the Flat Tax," The Wall Street Journal, April 2, 1992, p.A15 (with Alexander Cockburn).
2. "Brown Says Flat Tax Will Help Economy, Cut Lower-Income Tax Bite," Philadelphia Inquirer, April 26, 1992, p. F7.
3. "Maybe Not a Flat Tax, But a Fair Tax," Los Angeles Times, May 26, 1992, p. B5.
4. "Do We Need a Flat Tax?" California Business, June 1992, p. 44.
5. "Washington Must Spend to Spur Spending," Los Angeles Times, July 15, 1992, p. B7.
6. "Its Perot vs. Our Living Standards," Los Angeles Times, October 4, 1992, p. B7.
7. "Rossonomics," The Nation, October 26, 1992, pp. 456-57.
8. "Debt Obsessed: Clinton in the Clutches of Orthodoxy," Dollars and Sense, April 1993, p. 20.
9. "Conversion Still Offers a Peace Dividend," Los Angeles Times, June 24, 1993, p. B7.
10. "Tax Stock Trades to End Speculation," (with Dean Baker and Marc Schaberg, Los Angeles Times, April 28, 1994, p. B7.
11. "The Land of Bilk and Money," In These Times, January 9, 1995, p. 22.
12. "Small Raise Per Worker Goes a Long Way," Los Angeles Times, January 2, 1997, p. B7.
13. "Barely Minimum," The Nation, April 6, 1998, pp. 6-7.
14. "Living Wages Give A Boost to Demand," Los Angeles Times, April 1, 1999, p. B5..
15. "Economic Slide Makes Spending Respectable," Los Angeles Times, September 24, 2001
16. "Bubble Won't Reinflate," Los Angeles Times, August 24, 2003, p. B3.
17. "Remembering Paul Sweezy," Counterpunch online edition, March 6, 2004.
18. "Should the Minimum Wage Be Increased?" New York Times Upfront, November 2004.
19. "Cheaper Money the Key to Solving Jobs Crisis," Mail & Guardian (South Africa), October 20-26, 2006, News and Comment, p. 5
20. "A Living Wage We Can Live With," Los Angeles Times, January 14, 2007

#### **SELECTED LECTURES AND OTHER PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS**



1. "Alternative Perspectives on the Rise of Corporate Debt Dependency," ASSA Conference, San Francisco, December, 1983.
2. "Alternative Perspectives on the Rise of Corporate Debt Dependency," Department of Economics, University of California, Berkeley, February 9, 1984.
3. "Alternative Perspectives on the Rise of Corporate Debt Dependency," Department of Economics, Occidental College, April 19, 1984.
4. "International Financial Instability: The Legacy of Bretton Woods," Department of Economics, University of Utah, May, 1984.
5. "Ethics and Economics: A Jewish Perspective," Temple Beth El, Riverside, CA, May, 1984.
6. "Stability and Instability in the Debt-Income Relationship," ASSA Conference, Dallas, December, 1984.
7. "Capital Income Distribution and the Falling Rate of Profit," ASSA Conference, Dallas, December, 1984.
8. "Alternative Perspectives on the Rise of Corporate Debt Dependency," Department of Political Science, UCLA, February, 1985.
9. "Corporate Finance and Economic Crisis," at plenary session of conference on "The Present State of the World Economic Crisis," July 30-August 2, 1985, Center for Economic Research, National Autonomous University of Mexico.
10. Organizer and session chair of evening plenary "The Third World Debt Crisis: Progressive Responses," ASSA Conference, New York, December 28, 1985.
11. "Two Theories of Money Supply Endogeneity," Greater Los Angeles Political Economy Seminar, California State University, Los Angeles, February 21, 1987.
12. "The Economics Pastoral and its Critics: How Confused are the Bishops?," at Catholic Diocese of San Diego convocation on the Bishops' Pastoral Letter, Economic Justice for All, November 14, 1987.
13. "Debt Dependency and Stagnation: Pathways to Instability in the U.S. and Latin America," Conference on Economic Globalization sponsored by City University of New York, Berkshires, Massachusetts, May 14, 1988.
14. "Assessing Alternative Theories of Economic Crisis," UCLA, Program in Social Theory of Comparative History, June 3, 1988.
15. "What was Behind the Stock Market Crash?," Department of Economics, Cal State Fresno University, March, 1988.
16. "The Growth of U.S. Household Debt," Western Economic Association meetings, Los Angeles, July 1, 1988.
17. "Is Democratizing the Federal Reserve Worth It?," URPE Summer Conference, Sandwich, MA, August 23, 1988.

18. "The Stock Market Crash and the U.S. Macroeconomy," University of Southern California Program in Political Economy, November 15, 1988.
19. Presented one week intensive seminar, "Alternative Contemporary Perspectives in Macroeconomics," Metropolitan Autonomous University-Azcapotzalco, December 5-9, 1988, to inaugurate exchange program between Economics Departments of UC-Riverside and UAM-Azcapotzalco.
20. "The Changing Financial Conditions of U.S. Households," ASSA meetings, New York City, December 29, 1988.
21. "Budget Deficits and the U.S. Macroeconomy," Department of Economics, Northeast Missouri State University, April 6, 1989.
22. "Budget Deficits and Declining Economic Performance: What is the Connection," ASSA Conference, Atlanta, GA, December 29, 1989.
23. "Hyman Minsky as Hedgehog: The Power of the Wall Street Paradigm," Department of Economics, Washington University in St. Louis, April 12, 1990.
24. "Economic Policymaking in Bolivia: Is there an Alternative to Jeffrey Sachs?," URPE Summer Conference, August 25, 1990.
25. Debate with Prof. Jeffrey Sachs over National Public Radio on International Monetary Fund policies, May 14, 1990.
26. "The U.S. Financial System: Over the Abyss?" San Diego State University, October 26, 1990.
27. "Two Theories of Money Supply Endogeneity," Jerome Levy Economics Institute, November 1, 1990.
28. "Economic Aspects of Middle East Crisis," California State University, San Bernardino, December 1, 1990.
29. "The Market for Corporate Control: Sickness, Symptom or Cure?," ASSA Conference, December 29, 1990, Washington, D.C.
30. "Making Sense of the Budget Deficit Debate," Economic Policy Institute, January 11, 1991.
31. "Debate on the Middle East War," World Society, UC Riverside, February 12, 1991.
32. "Does the Socialist Tradition of Willy Brandt Make Economic Sense?" UC Riverside Executive Circle Meeting, February 1991.
33. "The World, the Free Market and the Left," *The Nation* magazine, New York, March 22, 1991.
34. "Why the Free Market Celebration is Wrong," Lewis and Clark University, Portland, OR. Plenary address for conference on International Development, May 6, 1991.
35. Interview on Wisconsin Public Radio, "What's Behind the Merger and Buyout Binge," June 3, 1991.
36. "Why the Free Market Celebration is Wrong," Saddleback College, November 15, 1991.

37. "Destabilizing Finance and the Recession: How to Avoid a Reprise of the 1980s" at ASSA Conference, January 3, 1992, New Orleans.
38. "Has Latin America Recovered from the Debt Crisis?" Harvey Goldberg Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison, April 6, 1992.
39. "Transforming the Federal Reserve into a Public Investment Bank: Why its Necessary, How it Should be Done," Economic Policy Institute, Washington, D.C., June 1992.
40. "How Public Investment Can Improve Macroeconomic Performance," Economic Policy Institute, Washington, D.C., September 22, 1992.
41. "Savings, Finance and Interest Rates," Jerome Levy Economics Institute, September 24, 1992.
42. "Transforming the Federal Reserve into a Public Investment Bank," ASSA Convention, January 6, 1993, Anaheim, CA.
43. "The Costs and Benefits of Financial Instability: Big Government Capitalism and the Minsky Paradox," ASSA Convention, January 6, 1993.
44. "Classical and Post-Keynesian Theories of Macroeconomic Finance: Divergent Paths; Convergent Results," Department of Economics, University of Utah, January 9, 1993.
45. "The California Budget Crisis: Where to Go From Here?," Santa Rosa College Public Lecture, April 25, 1993.
46. "Borrowing More but Investing Less: What Drove Corporate Takeovers in the 1980s?" Conference on Economics of Full Employment, Department of Economics, University of Ottawa, April 8, 1994.
47. "Economic Restructuring in Latin America: From the Debt Crisis to NAFTA," Harvey Goldberg Center for Contemporary Research, University of Wisconsin-Madison, April 11, 1994.
48. "The Independence of Aggregate Credit Supply from Private Saving: Evidence from the U.S. Economy," Economic Policy Institute Conference on Macroeconomics of Finance, Saving and Investment, April 22-23, 1994.
49. "The Macroeconomics of Market Socialism: A Finance-Centric Approach," (with Ilene Grabel), Economic Policy Institute Conference on "Finance and Globalization", Washington, D.C., June 24-25, 1994.
50. "Financial Structures and Egalitarian Economic Policy," conference on "Demand Rehabilitation: Finance, Trade, and Technology," sponsored by Pantheon Sorbonne Paris 1 and SOAS, University of London, September 29, 1994, Paris France.
51. "The Independence of Aggregate Credit Supply from Private Saving: Evidence from the U.S. Economy," Department of Economics, SOAS, University of London, October 4, 1994.
52. "Money Supply Endogeneity: What are the Questions and Why do they Matter?," Department of Economics, SOAS, University of London, October 7, 1994.

53. Speech to high school teachers, Inland Empire Consortium for International Studies, "The Origins of NAFTA", October 17-18, 1994.
54. "Financial Structures and Egalitarian Economic Policy," Department of Economics, University of Vermont, November 10, 1994.
55. "The Case for A Securities Transaction Excise Tax," (with Dean Baker and Marc Schaberg), ASSA Conference, Washington, D.C., January 7, 1995.
56. "The Roots of the Mexican Economic Crisis," Speech to high school teachers, Inland Empire Consortium for International Studies, January 12, 1994.
57. "NAFTA: Must There be Winners and Losers in U.S.-Mexico Economic Interdependence?" Speech to Student Town Meeting On American Foreign Policy, "Focus on Latin America, sponsored by U.S. Department of State, Inland Empire Consortium for International Studies and World Affairs Council of Inland Southern California, Riverside Community College, January 18, 1995.
58. "Saving and Finance: Real and Illusory Constraints on Full Employment Policy," Conference on "The Relevance of Keynesian Economic Policies Today," University of East London, May 19, 1995.
59. "Financial Structures and Egalitarian Economic Policy," Department of Economics, University of Cambridge, May 23, 1995.
60. "Saving and Finance: Real and Illusory Constraints on Full Employment Policy," Conference on "Restoring Full Employment," Department of Economics, Cambridge University, UK, May 24, 1995.
61. "Financial Structures and Egalitarian Economic Policy," Department of Economics, U. of California-Riverside, May 30, 1995.
62. "Was the Vietnam War Good or Bad for the U.S. Economy?" Conference on "The Long Shadow: Legacy and Memory of Vietnam, 1975-95," University of Wisconsin-Madison, September 16, 1995.
63. "Can Domestic Expansionary Policy Succeed in a Globally Integrated Environment? An Examination of Alternatives," Conference on "Globalization and Progressive Economic Policy," Economic Policy Institute, Washington, D.C., October 28, 1995.
64. "Financial Structures and Egalitarian Economic Policy," Department of Economics, U. of California-Davis, February 15, 1996.
65. "Expansionary Policy for Full Employment in the United States: Retrospective on the 1960s and Current Period Prospects," Conference on "Full Employment Without Inflation," Robinson College, University of Cambridge, May 15, 1996.
66. "Financial Structures and Egalitarian Economic Policy," Department of Economics, UCLA, May 22, 1996.
67. Testimony on Los Angeles Living Wage Ordinance, Personnel and Budget Committees, Los Angeles City Council, August 15, September 9, October 9, 1996 and January 7, 1997.
68. "Analysis of Los Angeles Living Wage Proposal," Department of Economics, UCR, October 4, 1996.

69. "Can Domestic Expansionary Policy Succeed in a Globally Integrated Environment? An Examination of Alternatives," Department of Economics, UCR, October 21, 1996.
70. "The Consequences of NAFTA," Speech to high school teachers, Inland Empire Consortium for International Studies, November 12, 1996.
71. "Three Lectures on Financial Structure, Egalitarianism and Macroeconomic Policy," Metropolitan Autonomous University, Mexico City, December 9-11, 1996.
72. "Globalization and Progressive Economic Policy," Program in Social Theory of Comparative History, UCLA, February 10, 1997.
73. "The Economics of Living Wage Proposals: A Solution to Low-Wage Poverty?" Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, March 25, 1997.
74. "Expansionary Policy For Full Employment in the United States," Department of Economics, Connecticut College, March 26, 1997.
75. "Financial Intermediation and the Variability of the Saving Constraint," Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, March 27, 1997.
76. Keynote speaker for conference on "An Anti-Poverty Agenda: National and International Strategies and Targets for Socio-Economic Development," California State University-Long Beach, April 16, 1997.
77. "The 'Reserve Army of Labor' and the 'Natural Rate of Unemployment': Can Marx, Kalecki, Friedman and Wall Street All Be Wrong?" David M. Gordon Memorial Lecture at Summer Conference of Union for Radical Political Economics, Danbury, Connecticut, August 25, 1997.
78. "Globalization and Full Employment Policy," Department of Economics, Southern Oregon University, March 10, 1998.
79. "Globalization: What Does It Mean?" Harvey Goldberg Center, University of Wisconsin Madison, March 23, 1998.
80. "Globalization: Alternatives to Neo-Liberalism" Harvey Goldberg Center, University of Wisconsin Madison, April 27, 1998.
81. "The 'Reserve Army of Labor' and the 'Natural Rate of Unemployment': Can Marx, Kalecki, Friedman and Wall Street All Be Wrong?", Department of Economics, University of California-Riverside, June 1, 1998.
82. "The Economic and Political Promise of the Living Wage Movement," Keynote Speaker, First Annual Labor and Social Action Summer School, sponsored by the North Bay Central Labor Council, Sonoma State University, June 14, 1998.
83. "The Economics of Living Wage Programs," URPE Summer Conference, Danbury, Connecticut, August 23, 1998.
84. "Asset Exchanges, Financial Market Trading, and the M1 Income Velocity Puzzle," Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, October 19, 1998.

84. "The Economics of Living Wage Programs," University of Massachusetts at Lowell, October 30, 1998.
85. "Robert Heilbroner: Worldly Philosopher," Conference in Honor of Prof. Robert Heilbroner, November 12, 1998, Department of Economics, Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research.
86. "Can U.S. Cities Afford Living Wage Programs?" Eastern Economic Association Convention, Boston, MA, March 12, 1999.
87. "Globalization and Progressive Economic Policy," Department of Political Science, Yale University, Conference on Globalization and Ethics, April 17, 1999.
88. "A Securities Transaction Tax for U.S. Financial Markets," Jerome Levy Institute Conference, "Structure, Instability and the World Economy: Reflections on the Economics of Hyman P. Minsky," April 21-23, 1999.
89. "Can U.S. Cities Raise Minimum Wages Above the National Level? Evidence from New Orleans," Workshop on Earnings Inequality, Technology, and Institutions, Jerome Levy Economics Institute of Bard College, June 10, 1999.
90. "Reflections on the Economics of Hyman P. Minsky," Invited Lecture, International Conference in Economics, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, September 8, 1999.
91. "Are Egalitarian Macroeconomic Policies Viable in A Global Economy?" Invited Lecture in Political Economy, International Conference in Economics, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, September 9, 1999.
92. "A Securities Transaction Tax for the United States Economy," Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, October 12, 1999.
93. "Class Conflict and the Natural Rate of Unemployment", Seminar on Full Employment, Columbia University, New York, NY, November 8, 1999.
94. "Economic Effects of a Global Living Wage," Living Wage Symposium, University of Wisconsin-Madison, November 19-20, 1999.
95. "The Prospects and Problems with Living Wage Ordinances," New York University Law School, New York, NY, December 8, 1999.
96. "A Securities Transaction Tax and the Viability of Egalitarian Macroeconomic Policies," Center for Economic and Policy Analysis, New School for Social Research, NY, December 8, 1999.
97. "Economic Analysis of New Orleans Living Wage Proposal," ASSA meetings, Boston, MA, January 9, 2000.
98. "Anatomy of Clintonomics," ASSA meetings, Boston, MA, January 9, 2000.
99. "The Economics of Living Wages," public lecture, Lewis and Clark University, February 3, 2000.
100. "Globalization and Macroeconomic Policy," Program in Social Theory of Comparative History, UCLA, March 6, 2000.

101. "Globalization, Inequality And Financial Instability: Confronting The Marx, Keynes And Polanyi Problems in the Advanced Capitalist Economies," Department of Political Science, Yale University, Conference on Globalization and Ethics, March 31, 2000.
102. "Economics of Living Wages," Downtown Community Forum, Rochester, NY, May 17, 2000.
103. "Political Economy of 'New Global Financial Architecture,'" Plenary Session, URPE Summer Conference, August 19, 2000.
104. "Economics of Living Wages," ACORN Community Center, Sacramento, CA, September 10, 2000.
105. "Presentation of Findings on Living Wage Study before Santa Monica City Council," Santa Monica, CA, September 12, 2000.
106. "Intended vs. Unintended Consequences: How Living Wage Policies Work," (with Stephanie Luce), Department of Sociology, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, October 12, 2000.
107. "Technical Challenges in Assessing Living Wage Proposals: The Virtues of Simple Theory and Descriptive Statistics," Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, December 11, 2000.
108. "Intended vs. Unintended Consequences: How Living Wage Policies Work," (with Mark Brenner and Stephanie Luce), ASSA Meetings, January 8, 2001.
109. "Globalization, Inequality And Financial Instability: Confronting The Marx, Keynes And Polanyi Problems in the Advanced Capitalist Economies," ASSA Meetings, January 9, 2001.
110. "The Challenge of Global Living Wages," Plenary Address, Conference on Global Living Wages and Sweatshops, University of Notre Dame, February 2, 2001.
111. "The Economics of Living Wages," Public Lecture, University of Notre Dame, February 5, 2001.
112. "The Global Anti-Sweatshop Movement: Good Intentions and Economic Logic in Conflict?" Solomon Barkin Memorial Lecture, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, March 29, 2001.
113. "The Economics of Global Sweatshops," Department of Economics, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, March 30, 2001.
114. "The Global Anti-Sweatshop Movement: Good Intentions and Economic Logic in Conflict?" Student Anti-Sweatshop Organization, Northwestern University, April 30, 2001.
115. "Debate on Living Wages as Public Policy," Program in Public Policy and Ethics, Santa Clara University, May 17, 2001.
116. "The Economic Consequences of Clinton, Bush and Greenspan," Department of Economics, University of California-Riverside, May 22, 2001.
117. "The Case for the Living Wage Movement," Plenary Speaker, Syracuse NY Living Wage Coalition, October 6, 2001.

118. "The Economics of Living Wages," Maxwell School of Public Policy, Syracuse University, October 7, 2001.
119. "The Living Wage Movement: Good Intentions and Economic Logic in Conflict?" Convocation Speaker, Augustana College, October 25, 2001.
120. "Presentation on Economics of Living Wages," Harvard University Committee on Employment and Contracting Policies," November 20, 2001.
121. "From Clinton, to Bush to September 11: The Path to U.S. Recession," Department of Economics, Tel Aviv University, December 18, 2001.
122. "The Living Wage Movement: Good Intentions and Economic Logic in Conflict?" Sapir Center of Economics, Tel Aviv University, December 20, 2001.
123. "What is a Living Wage," Allied Social Science Association Convention, January 4, 2002.
124. "The Global Anti-Sweatshop Movement" Good Intentions and Economic Logic in Conflict?" Allied Social Science Association Convention, January 5, 2002.
125. "Living Wages: Global Principles for Economic Justice," Simon's Rock of Bard College public lecture, January 25, 2002.
126. "The Federal Reserve and the Prospects for Macroeconomic Policy," Federal Reserve Leadership Education Program, Maritime Institute, Baltimore, Maryland, February 28, 2002.
127. Expert Testimony in New Orleans District on City of New Orleans Living Wage Ordinance, March 20, 2002.
127. "Savings, Credit Allocation, and Employment Targeting in South Africa," NEDLAC Conference on the Financial Sector, Government of South Africa, Johannesburg, South Africa, April 6, 2002.
128. "Living Wages and the Global Anti-Sweatshop Movement" Good Intentions and Economic Logic in Conflict?" Economics Department, Hamilton College, April 22, 2002.
129. "The Promise of the Living Wage Movement," Keynote Speaker, Jubilee Jobs Association Annual Dinner, Washington, D.C., May 20, 2002.
130. "Economic Analysis of Santa Monica Living Wage Proposal," Institute for Contemporary History and Social Theory, UCLA, October 17, 2002.
131. "Informalization, Economic Growth and the Challenge of Creating Viable Labor Standards in Developing Countries," (with James Heintz), Cornell University Conference on "Rethinking Labor Market Informalization," October 19, 2002.
132. "Assessing the Clinton Boom: Was NAIRU Defeated on the Backs of U.S. Workers?" Department of Economics Theory Seminar, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, December 11, 2002.
133. "The Political Economy of U.S. Unemployment, Inflation and Wage Determination" Allied Social Science Association meetings, Washington, D.C. January 3, 2003.



134. "Informalization and Economic Growth in Developing Countries," (with James Heintz) Allied Social Science Association meetings, Washington, D.C. January 3, 2003.
135. "Security Transaction Taxes for U.S. Financial Markets," Eastern Economic Association annual conference, February 22, 2003.
136. "Clintonomics: The Hollow Boom," Department of Economics, University of Utah, April 11, 2003.
137. "Living Wage Laws in the United States: Good Intentions and Economic Reality in Conflict?" Department of Economics, University of Utah, April 12, 2003.
138. "The Return of Military Keynesianism Under Bush," Plenary Speaker, Summer Conference, Union for Radical Political Economics, August 24, 2003.
139. "Living Wage Laws in the United States: Good Intentions and Economic Reality in Conflict?" Swarthmore College, Living Wage Coalition, October 3, 2003.
140. "Wage Bargaining and the U.S. Phillips Curve: Was Greenspan Right about 'Traumatized Workers' in the 1990s?" Economics Department, Graduate Faculty, New School University, October 27, 2003.
141. "Military Keynesianism and Tax Cuts for the Rich: Enough to Bail Bush out of the Post Bubble Slump?" Havens Center, University of Wisconsin Madison, October 30, 2003.
142. "What Global Neoliberalism Has Wrought," School of International Studies, Clark University, November 12, 2003.
143. "Living Wage Laws in the United States: Good Intentions and Economic Reality in Conflict?" SHARE Coalition, Harvard University, November 12, 2003.
144. Expert Testimony, Santa Fe New Mexico Living Wage Law, Santa Fe District Court, April 15-16, 2004.
145. "Living Wage Laws in the United States: Good Intentions and Economic Reality in Conflict?" William E. Weiss Lecture, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, NY.
146. "Globalization and the Transition to Egalitarian Development," Conference in Honor of Keith B. Griffin, Political Economy Research Institute, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, April 24, 2004.
147. "An Employment-Targeted Economic Program for South Africa," UNDP International Poverty Centre Conference, "Strengthening the Employment Nexus Between Growth and Poverty Reduction," Brasilia, Brazil, January 11-12, 2005.
148. "An Employment-Targeted Economic Program for South Africa," (with Gerald Epstein, James Heintz, and Leonce Ndikumana), seminars at University of Capetown (3/11/05), University of Witwatersrand (3/14/05), Pretoria (3/15/05), and Capetown (3/16/05), South Africa.
149. "The U.S. Economy Today," Program in Political Economy, University of York, Toronto, Canada, March 18, 2005.

150. "Neoliberalism and Resistance: Creating Alternative Economic Realities in Post-Apartheid South Africa," 2005 Phillis Clarke Memorial Lecture, Department of Politics and Public Administration, Ryerson University, March 21, 2005.

151. "Economic Analysis of Albuquerque's Living Wage Law Proposal, Department of Economics, University of New Mexico, September 8, 2005.

152. "Financial Market Interventions for Employment Promotion in South Africa," International Labour Organization, Geneva, Switzerland, September 26, 2005.

153. "Employment Targeting in South Africa," Allied Social Science Association Meetings, Boston, MA, January 6, 2006.

154. "An Employment-Targeted Economic Program for South Africa," Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, October 23, 2006.

155. "An Employment-Targeted Economic Program for South Africa," Department of Economics, University of Capetown, South Africa, October 24, 2006.

156. "An Employment-Targeted Economic Program for Kenya," United Nations Development Program, Nairobi, Kenya, October 26-27, 2006.

158. "Is Full Employment Possible Under Globalization?" Sumner Rosen Memorial Public Lecture, Columbia University, November 16, 2006.

159. "Targeting Decent Employment: Micro Policy, Macro Policy, and Making it Happen," Conference on *Realistic Growth Policies for our Times*, New School for Social Research, April 13, 2007.